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ABSTRACT

Resulting from one of the International Labour Office's explorations of the training needs of older workers in industrialized countries, this document states the following six conclusions: (1) programs to encourage delayed retirement and increase the productivity of older U.S. workers are more often funded by government than by the private sector; (2) 48 percent of U.S. workers 55-64 years old were somewhat or very interested in learning new skills and participating in job training programs so they could take on a different job; (3) 17 percent of U.S. workers 50-62 years old said they were much more likely to delay early retirement if they could have job training; (4) public job training programs for older workers under the Job Training Partnership Act are available and are very well developed and evaluated, but may never reach all of those eligible; (5) some private companies have recognized the value of an ongoing educational and training program for older workers, and General Electric has concluded that it is less expensive to retrain its educated but outdated engineers rather than hire new employees; and (6) the nonprofit Chicago-based ABLE (Ability Based on Living Experiences) project has been successful at marketing the skills of job seekers older than 55. The document includes 11 tables and 48 references. (CML)

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Discussion Paper No. 31

TRAINING OF OLDER WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY
HAROLD L. SHEPPARD AND SARA E. RIX

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Foreword

For many years following the steadily growing birth rate, some industrialised countries have had only one problem with older workers: they retire too late. The best way to make room for young people in the labour market was to encourage older workers to leave. The age of 65, once the minimum retirement age, quickly became the maximum. But at present, this development is causing concern rather than contentment. With fewer young workers entering the labour force the position of older workers will have to be reconsidered.

Statistics show a rapidly ageing population in many industrialised countries. This trend has its roots in rising life expectancy, low birth rates and the maturing of the post-war baby boom generation. In 1985, Germans aged 55 or over comprised about 27.4 per cent of the total population: by 2000 the proportion will have risen to about 32 per cent, by 2025 to about 44 per cent. By the turn of the century, this age group could account for nearly 29 per cent in Sweden, 28 per cent in Italy and Japan, 26 per cent in Belgium and the United Kingdom, 22 per cent in Canada and in the United States.

Despite their growing numbers, these older people hold a diminishing share of the labour force, following the current trend of being "carried out" of the labour force by various means. From 1970 to 1985 the labour force participation rate of men aged 55-60 in Germany declined from 89 to 79 per cent; the rate of the 60-65 year old men from 74.7 to 33 per cent.

The ILO has recently started exploration on this matter to study the position of training and retraining older individuals in some industrialised countries. The "Older Workers Recommendation (162) 1980" (adopted on 23June1980 by the General Conference of the ILO) reveals the early interest of the organisation on this topic. Thus, the ILO (financially assisted by the Federal Republic of Germany) is going to review in a limited period of time the training and retraining measures for older workers and individuals of 55 years and over to hold their jobs, to find a job, to be mobilised into self-employment, and to make their long evenings of life useful to themselves and the community. Also to make the employers, the older people, and the public acknowledge this particularly valuable resource for the future.

The first findings of the main exploration project suggest that:

- Old age is not a handicap to learning.
- Older workers have a proven track record.
- Pre-retirement education is becoming widely available.
- Leisure time education is common.
- Senior service is only timidly used.
- On-the-job training for older workers may be usual but is mostly invisible.
- Training for the job is scarcely used.
- The participation rate of older people in training or education courses is very low.

This is one of several discussion papers dealing with the training needs of older workers in one particular country, written by external collaborators. Readers are invited to comment, add, or correct the views presented here.

Preface

This report on the training situation of older people in the United States has been produced in the framework of the ILO research dealing with training and retraining needs of older workers and individuals in industrialised countries.

The authors were asked to consider the following items:

- What is the demographic and employment situation of older people in the US?
- What impact have current pension schemes on the older workers?
- Do the government, the employers, and the unions have any training policies for older workers?
- Are there acts, laws, rules or regulations concerning training of older workers?
- Are there regular training procedures, pilot projects or experiments targeted at older people?
- Is there any impact from the initial training to be seen?
- Is there any incorporation of the results obtained into the training and education policies?
- Which are the main institutions and organisations and who are the well-known individuals active in this field?

The findings are based on many published research papers and the profound knowledge of the authors.

The report gives at the beginning an overview and refers in its first section on the policies to promote older worker employment. The second section deals with the availability and participation of training programmes for older workers. The publicly-financed training programmes are considered in the third section. The private sector programmes describes section 4, followed by the not-for-profit efforts in section 5. In section 6 the representation of women in older workers training programmes is examined. At the end there are two appraisals on the value of training and the future training needs. The report is finished by references and tables.

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Introduction

The ageing of the population of the United States, accompanied as it is or will be by a substantial decline in the number of young people in the labour force (table1), a pronounced withdrawal of middle-aged and older workers from the labour force (tables 2 and 3), and escalating costs of supporting an ever older dependent population, has sparked debate in some circles about the potential merits of prolonging older workers' labour force attachment. In fact, the Secretary of Labor warned in 1987 that the future will *require* the utilisation of workers over the age of 50 (William Brock, cited in the Bureau of National Affairs, 1987: 83).

More recently (1988), the Labor Department's Deputy Undersecretary for Labor-Management Relations, John R. Stepp, announced that older workers nevertheless are becoming a smaller proportion of the US Labour force. Workers aged 55 and older constituted 17 per cent of the 1972 labour force and only 13 per cent in 1988. Without any new policy directives, workers in this age group are expected to be only 11 per cent of the labour force in the year 2000. Mr. Stepp's explanation included (i) the impact of both social security and private-sector pension plans, especially as the latter have provided for non-actuarially reduced early retirement benefits; (ii) encouragement of early retirement as a cost-saving device (senior employees are typically higher paid); (iii) employer stereotypes about work, retraining capacity and ageing; and (iv) the apparent trend toward greater valuation of leisure over work, particularly when job tasks are unrewarding.

To date, much of the interest in promoting older worker employment and training opportunities has been restricted to advocacy organisations for the elderly, a small number of businesses confronted with highly specialised skills shortages, and industries that have traditionally drawn their employees from the now shrinking pool of younger workers.

If anything, weakening older worker attachment to the labour force continues as the predominant corporate policy in the United States. Some 62 per cent of the more than 350 companies surveyed by the Conference Board in the early 1980s had pension plans that contained early (pre-65) retirement inducements, while only 4 per cent cited any incentives to discourage retirement beyond the age of 65 (Rhine, 1984: 1, 4). And those companies with inducements did not offer them to just *any* older worker, but rather to employees with scarce skills or high performance records. Employers who might be inclined to target older workers for employment are apparently confronted with a lack of good resources on how to recruit or train them (Gamse, 1988).

Further working against the establishment of older worker programmes is corporate downsizing. Just under half (45 per cent) of the more than 1,100 company respondents to a 1987 American Management Association Survey had undergone "significant" reductions in force between January 1986 and June 1987, and additional ones were anticipated by other firms over the following year (American Associaton of Retired Persons [AARP], 1987: 9). When companies are faced with the need or desire to pare down staff, anything that might foster the retention of "disposable" workers would be counterproductive.

Prevailing negative attitudes about older workers' flexibility in a rapidly changing technological workforce play their part in employers' reluctance to retain older workers. If a 1985 survey conducted for the American Association of Retired Persons is any guide, older workers get high marks from employers for dependability, loyalty, and commitment, but they fare less well when it comes to assessments about their "trainabil-

ity". Only 17 per cent of the 400 human resource decision-makers included in that survey rated older workers' ability to learn new skills as either "excellent" or "very good", and about 40 per cent viewed older workers as resistant to change. Moreover, only 10 per cent believed that older workers were comfortable with new technologies, a perception that appeared to be "particularly acute" in large companies where efforts to introduce new technology to improve productivity were considerable (American Association of Retired Persons, undated: 6, 12). Such reservations undoubtedly influence employers' decisions about whom and when to train.

Employers also have reservations about the long-run pay-off from updating the skills of older workers. It obviously makes little sense to invest in an employee on the threshold of retirement, but the costs and benefits of training middle-aged workers are not so obvious. If lost-productivity and salary replacement are the measures, young workers may indeed be cheaper to train. However, if pay back is measured in terms of years of service to a firm after training or retraining, older workers may come out ahead, in view of the fact that job turnover is less common among them than among younger ones (Carnevale, 1986: 50), and recruiting is expensive. The costs of recruiting, selecting, hiring and retraining a data processing professional might be as much as 60 per cent of the first year's salary (Nye, 1988: 30). Moreover, Root and Zarrugh (1983: 3) point out that for some technologies, a worker's remaining work life might exceed the life of the new technology for which he or she was trained, reinforcing the value of training a worker likely to remain with a firm.

Because older employees themselves possess some of these same doubts about the return on investing time and effort in training (Andrisani and Daymont, 1987: 68), both interest and participation in training drop with age. Training that would require an older worker to start anew as an entry-level worker - which might be expected after learning an entirely new skill - would probably appeal to relatively few older workers, most of whom would be unwilling to face the wage or salary reductions associated with entry level work.

Finally, older workers have bought into one of the great success stories of the twentieth century - an affordable and early retirement made possible by the availability of social security benefits at the age of 62, the indexing of those benefits, and the expansion of private pension coverage. Although more than four out of five workers of 40 and older expressed interest in retraining in a 1986 survey (American Association of Retired Persons, 1986a: 11), they apparently put little pressure on their employers to provide them with it. A dearth of age discrimination cases that involve training issues (Bureau of National Affairs, 1986: 86) may reflect this lack of concern. (It may also, of course, indicate that older workers do not realise that they are protected against discrimination, that they do not feel they have been discriminated against, or that they actually have not experienced discrimination with regard to training.)

Another AARP report cites the Government's projections of impending skill shortages due to the reduced birth rate and points out that many employers are exploring ways of recruiting and retaining older workers (American Association of Retired Persons, 1986b). This may involve dissemination of research findings about the weak relationship, if any, between productivity and age, as well as the use of training and job redesign as ways to adapt older workers to new skill demands and technology.

Other personnel experts suggest greater cost-effectiveness of multi-employer training resources, as well as the recruitment of retired professionals, either as mentor/trainers or as direct employees themselves.

Stereotypes among American trainers can lead to the neglect of training and retraining of older workers in US industry, even though the demographic dynamics call for greater participation of older persons in training programmes. Any changes in attitudes, however,

may need to be accompanied by appropriate training approaches and methods, e.g., the use of effective audio-visual aids, increased use of feedback and memory assistance techniques.

Older displaced workers frequently lack the skills necessary to obtain a new job, which may contribute to their low re-employment rates and the lower wages often experienced once re-employed. Findings such as these form the basis for recommendations for retraining to meeting the challenge of job loss among older workers (Shapiro and Sandell, 1985).

Retraining and skill upgrading are becoming increasingly recognised as desirable even for middle-aged and older executives (Mintz, 1986). In providing such training, care must be taken to use more time and concentration for the absorption of highly technical material. Furthermore, executives (mostly older) tend to be leery about having to undergo new skills acquisition or retraining.

A 1982 survey of training needs of older workers in a US federal agency revealed a strong preference for computer and technological training and for training in management (Tucker, 1985). The report recommended:

- determining automation needs for use in training programme and design;
- making greater use of older workers themselves as trainers; and
- surveying employers to determine staffing needs and available resources.

Computer training provides a closer example of the possible need to tailor-make the training guide-lines to facilitate older worker instruction. These guide-lines include allowing for self-regulated training, generous amounts of practice time, and use of other older persons as trainers (Anderson, 1983).

The need for older worker training is especially acute because in many instances previous training has not been recent, "learning skills" have been diminished through lack of use, and/or the training has been for obsolete skills.

An essential ingredient of employer programmes for older workers is the recognition by employers that such workers can be a "solution to specific business problems. It is the recognition of need, rather than a sense of corporate social responsibility, that offers the most promise for the continued growth in older worker employment opportunities" (Rothstein, 1988).

The same principle applies to the field of training. Employer needs include (i) the importance of a flexible workforce (meaning a small core employee group in some industries) allowing for seasonal expansion and contraction through temporary, part-time and/or work-sharing arrangements; (ii) holding onto experienced personnel in labour-scarce industries or regions (which might involve the permanent part-time employment of a company's own retirees); (iii) a labour shortage resulting from the shrinking pool of young labour force entrants and the consequent need to keep, hire and train "mature" personnel; and (iv) a preference for older persons because of their lower turnover and absenteeism, better work habits, etc., as compared with young employees.

Undoubtedly, there is an indirect, perhaps unmeasurable impact of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA). Several successful cases in the courts concerning such discrimination (especially through "premature" discharges or retirement), involving heavy dollar costs to corporations, have alerted the employer community to the value of compliance with the Act. From 1981 to 1985 alone, the federal agency administering the ADEA - the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) - saw the proportion of its total case workload consisting of age discrimination cases grow from 11.6 per cent to 23.3 per cent. From 1981 to 1987, the number of such complaints had doubled. "...(T)hat sends a strong message to businesses about the need to exercise considerable sensitivity in dealing with older employees and applicants" (Rothstein, 1988).

Policies to Promote Older Worker Employment

Age discrimination in employment

Although older workers are not yet, to any significant extent, demanding training policies and programmes that would promote their employment opportunities, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act is designed to protect workers who might want to avail themselves of what exists.

The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, as amended in subsequent years, does not require employers to provide such employment enhancers as training, flexible work schedules, or meaningful part-time work. However, with one exception, equal treatment of employees of all ages is required; employers may not use age as the criterion for participation in in-house training programmes, for example, although the law does not require that they encourage older workers to participate.

The exception involves apprenticeship programmes. Under the current interpretation of the EEOC, apprenticeship programmes are exempt from the proscriptions of the law, thus permitting employers and unions to use age as the sole criterion for rejecting potential apprentices. In 1984, the EEOC voted to rescind this age exemption, but the Office of Management and Budget never acted on the decision, and the EEOC ultimately reversed itself.

Age discrimination legislation has by no means eliminated discriminatory behaviour on the part of employers. In many cases, it has merely made it more difficult to detect. The National Commission for Employment Policy (1985) maintains that, while older workers fare better than younger ones in many respects, they do continue to confront age discrimination. The Age Discrimination in Employment Act does, however, provide a legal mechanism for workers to attempt to redress perceived inequities. And, in 1986, Congress approved amendments to the ADEA that virtually eliminated mandatory retirement at any age, thus extending the legal protection of workers aged 40 and above.

Retirement age increases

As part of its effort to restore long-range financial solvency to the social security system, Congress in 1983 approved a gradual increase in the age of eligibility for full social security benefits. Beginning in the year 2000, the current full retirement age of 65 will be increased by two months per year until it reaches 66 in 2005. Full retirement age will remain at 66 until 2017, at which time it will increase by another two months per year until it reaches 67. Social security benefits will still be available at age 62, but they will be substantially lower than the actuarially reduced benefits currently available at that age.

Whether this effort to raise the retirement age will have a significant impact remains to be seen: some observers argue that as long as employers use private pension inducements to encourage early retirement, workers will opt to leave the labour force at the age those inducements are available. It is certainly too early for the 1983 amendments to have had an effect on training programmes, but workers who fall under the law are reaching their vulnerable years: the oldest are in their 40s. If large numbers of these workers operate under the assumption that they will remain in the labour force longer than workers of the present, employers may begin to respond to the need to maximise their productivity by offering more training opportunities.

Training Programmes for Older Workers: Availability and Participation

Federal efforts aside, programmes and policies - most specifically those involving training - to foster delayed retirement and increase the productivity of older workers, while they exist, are apparently not prevalent (Root and Zarrugh, 1983; National Commission on Employment Policy, 1985; Bureau of National Affairs, 1987; US Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1987). Media attention that has been paid to a few older worker programmes may be painting a misleading picture of their pervasiveness.

Bové (1987: 77) writes in the *Training and Development Journal* that "... there is no statistical evidence to indicate that such programmes are anything more than the efforts of a few enlightened corporations to grapple with a problem that should [given the ageing of the workforce] interest all". But in point of fact, good estimates of just how many employers offer training programmes to their older workers (or to workers of any age, for that matter), or how many workers actually participate in any programmes, are unavailable. Nor is there any systematically acquired information on the content of training programmes for older workers. The Senate Committee on Aging cites a 1986 study in which only 2 per cent of the responding firms provided training specifically for the older employee (US Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1987: 143), but while the available training programmes for older workers are probably not extensive, employers might be reluctant to admit targeting programmes to a specific group. In addition, older workers may prefer not to participate in programmes that single them out as "special" and, by virtue of that label, less capable. For example, the Travellers, a large diversified financial company that for the past decade has been promoting the temporary rehiring of its retirees, was discouraged by its older workers from offering age-segregated training programmes. Thus, the 2 per cent might be an underestimate.

Still, judging from these and other data, the United States does not appear to be awash in training programmes for older workers. The National Caucus and Center on Black Aged recently (1987) identified some highly effective older worker training programmes, part of whose success was due to offering occupational skills training to persons needing update. Acknowledging the fact that the study was not meant to be a systematic survey of such programmes in the United States, it is still significant that only three of the 36 programmes described in their report were private programmes; virtually all of the rest were federally funded Job Training Partnership Act or Senior Community Service Employment programmes.

Nearly half of the human resource decision-makers in AARP's 1985 survey felt that older worker skill training would be effective in "increasing their utilisation", and 30 per cent said their companies had begun to implement such programmes (American Association of Retired Persons, undated: 20). No information is provided, however, on how far along in the implementation phase they had reached or just what the training programmes actually involved.

The National Older Workers' Information Employment System (NOWIS), an information retrieval system of private sector programmes and practices for older workers, was developed at the University of Michigan to serve as a resource for employers, unions and others interested in the potential of older employees. Of the 369 programmes and practices from 180 companies on file in the autumn of 1984, only 10.3 per cent, or less than 40, dealt with training, and few of those programmes - though they might be especially applicable to older workers - were designed solely with their needs in mind (US Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1985).

On the one hand, the NOWIS database was never meant to be an exhaustive or even representative catalogue of all relevant programmes and businesses in the United States. Rather, by reflecting the *range* of available

programmes, the goal was to provide models of workable programmes. NOWIS programmes were identified through an intensive literature search, contact with 80 national organisations dealing with elderly and employment issues, and referrals from companies with existing older worker programmes. As a result, many so-called "invisible" programmes undoubtedly remained invisible.

On the other hand, these caveats about sampling aside, it is perhaps still significant that the database in 1984 included only 180 businesses out of more than 12 million firms in the United States.

Recently, the database has been acquired by the American Association of Retired Persons, which has been updating the original NOWIS information. Some of the firms in the original system have gone out of business; others have eliminated their older worker programmes; some have merged with other companies. As a result, a request to NOWIS for an update on training programmes in the spring of 1988 yielded only four, though it should be stressed that the system as it currently stands includes only "cases" from the original sample.[1] A major effort is now under way to expand the file with information from public, non-profit and for-profit establishments that have adopted programmes since the early 1980s. If all goes as planned, NOWIS should become a useful resource of what AARP calls "exemplary programmes that go beyond the minimum ADEA requirements".

Two-thirds of the 350 firms surveyed by the Conference Board reported having programmes that enable employees to upgrade their job-related skills and knowledge, and half said that workers aged 50 and older were as likely as other workers to "avail themseves of such programmes" (Rhine, 1984: 22). Unfortunately, the number of workers of all ages who took advantage of the programmes was not reported; nor did the report indicate whether workers of various ages were actually encouraged by supervisors to accept tuition aid (offered by 62 per cent of the companies with updating programmes), involve themselves in on-the-job training and development (offered by 61 per cent), or participate in courses and seminars (offered by 46 per cent).

Another Conference Board study reported an increase between 1977 and 1985 in the proportion of workers participating in company-sponsored training programmes. The gain in participation was greatest among workers of 25 to 55 years of age and lowest among those of 55 and older. The continuing trend towards early retirement was given as the reason for the latter development (Lusterman, 1985: 22). Moreover, the Conference Board found a shift in the criteria for participation in such training programmes: there was less self-selection and more emphasis on the relevance of the programme to corporate goals (ibid.: 12), which may augur ill for older workers whose perceived contribution to the corporate good is seen to lie in early retirement.

Nevertheless, on the "supply" side, unpublished data from a 1981 survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the National Council on the Ageing reveal that, among workers of 55-64 years old, 48 per cent were somewhat or very interested in learning new skills and participating in a job-training programme so they could take on a different job. This proportion varied according to level of schooling, with the less educated (under 12 years of schooling) expressing less interest.

As for actual, recent experience in continued training or education, 17 per cent of these 55-64 year old workers and 10 per cent of those 65 and older reported in 1981 that in just the past year they had taken courses. Approximately two-fifths of the 55-64 year olds had attended programmes at an employer's establishment. More than one-half of all such students had taken a course to acquire better job skills.

Data from AARP's survey show that two-thirds of the 1,300 workers of 40 and older had received some job training over the past three years (American Association of Retired Per-

[1] Some programme summaries are available only to other businesses, so the training component may actually exceed four.

sons, 1986a). Training was most common among workers in their 40s (74 per cent) and somewhat less frequent among workers of 50 to 62 (61 per cent), while it dropped to a still respectable 50 per cent for workers of 63 and above. These proportions varied according to socio-economic status: the higher the status (as measured by income, education, or occupation), the greater the proportion receiving training. Equally important, a higher percentage of public sector than of private sector workers - 75 per cent versus only 58 per cent - had received job training (American Association of Retired Persons, 1986a: 11).

Again, data on the specifics of the training are skimpy, but the report did note that it typically involved on-the-job training to upgrade skills. Moreover, of the four out of five AARP respondents who "expressed a wish for training opportunities", it is significant that more than three-quarters of the 50 to 62-year-old workers preferred job-related training, and that this was also true of more than one-half of respondents of 63 and older.

	Age		
Training preferred	40-49 (%)	50-62 (%)	63+ (%)
Updating of current skills	37	44	35
To get a better but similar/totally different job	43	33	19
Not related to job	12	9	9
No training	4	10	31

These findings appear to be consistent with the reasons why people take adult education courses (table 4), according to the US Department of Education (1987). As of 1984, more than 4.3 million adult education courses were taken by men and women of 55 and older. Most of the courses - 68 per cent - taken by men between the ages of 55 and 64 were for job-related reason. The corresponding proportion for women in the same age group was 48 per cent. Nearly all of the job-related courses were taken "to advance on the job". For the most part, their courses seemed practical and designed to assist with job-related aspirations: the top three courses for men were business, engineering, and health care; for women, they were health-care business and the arts. (Courses taken by the oldest respondents (those of 65 and above) were, not surprisingly, given their low labour force participation rates, far less likely to be job-related.)

Still, older workers are under-represented in post-secondary education (table 5). Persons of 55-64, for example, were 12 per cent of the population in 1982, but less than 1 per cent of the enrollees in academic programmes, typically the purview of the young, and less than 3 per cent (or 95,000) of the vocational educational participants. At nearly 10 per cent, however, they were somewhat better represented among the continuing education students (National Center for Education Statistics, 1987). This works out to a participation rate of just 2 per cent for persons between the ages of 55 and 64.

Finally, as a way of indicating the importance of training in the retirement decisions, 17 per cent of the respondents between the ages of 50 and 62 in AARP's older worker survey, and 9 per cent of those of 63 and older said they were "much more likely" to delay early retirement if they could have job training (American Association of Retired Persons, 1986a).

Publicly-Financed Training Programmes for Older Workers

The nation's two major employment programmes for older persons are the Senior Community Service Employment Programme (SCSEP), funded under Title V of the Older Americans Act and Title III of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), both of which target services to the economically disadvantaged, and both of which serve a small percentage of the eligible population. The pre-1983 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act involved far larger numbers, but older worker participation, relative to their share of the long-term unemployed, was low.

Senior Community Service Employment Programme

The older and more visible of the two programmes is the Senior Community Service Employment programme, or SCSEP, established in 1965, "to promote useful part-time opportunities in community services activities for low-income persons." Federal funds ($331 million for Programme Year 1988-89) are awarded to eight national sponsoring organisations and State agencies to assist unemployed persons of 55 and older whose incomes do not exceed 125 per cent of the poverty level. Appropriations for Programme Year 1988-89 will fund just under 65,000 job slots. Because of turnover, dropouts, and private sector placement, considerably more workers are "served" in any one year than the number of funded slots would imply.

SCSEP is more of a job creation programme than a training programme. Although participants may receive some training, it is generally provided on the job, after placement, and is usually "oriented toward teaching and upgrading skills" (US Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1988: 122). Relatively little emphasis has been placed on formal training programmes (Centaur, 1986). Instead, the goal has been to place participants in minimum wage public service jobs, such as health care and education, that will benefit the community. This may change, however, with the Secretary of Labor's recent mandate to place 20 per cent of workers in private sector jobs.

A popular programme, SCSEP has generally managed to hold its own during the cutbacks in social and related programmes since 1981. Though funding for the 1988-89 Programme Year will support about 900 fewer job slots than the previous year (US Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1988: 122), the programme has generally expanded over the years.

The virtue of the SCSEP lies not in its training but in its providing much-needed employment to a population that private sector employers find relatively unattractive. Over 60 per cent of the participants have been women and about 80 per cent over the age of 60. Half have not graduated from high school, and minorities are over-represented. Without considerably more formal training, the average SCSEP participant would have a very difficult time securing private sector employment.

Experimental projects (502(e))

A push to provide more private sector employment under SCSEP was made with the establishment of experimental programmes funded under section 502(e) of Title V of the Older Americans Act, administered by the Department of Labor. These projects "were to focus on increasing older worker participation in the private sector, especially in high technology and high growth fields, by combinations worksharing, flexi-time, and other

means to expand employment opportunities" (Centaur Associates, 1986: 3). Although these programmes were authorised under the 1978 Older Americans Act amendments, the first ones were not implemented until January of 1983, and an attempt to evaluate their effectiveness not made until 1986.

Centaur Associates reported that some 2,800 participants had entered experimental programmes during the first three programme years, and 55 per cent entered private sector employment. In contrast to the regular SCSEPs, the experimental programmes focused more extensively on training, most commonly classroom training, as well as work experience, on-the-job training and transitional services. Classroom training tended to involve several week of occupational skills development for such work as word processing.

Programme operators seemed to agree that experimental training should be for jobs in growth industries, and the range of employer participation in the 502(e) programmes - home health care, clerical, assembly, construction, custodial, retail, hotel management - does reflect growing occupations, but they are not "high tech". In fact, there seemed to be a general feeling that "even entry level jobs in high technology fields require extensive training that they believe most unemployed older workers are reluctant to undergo" (ibid.: 11).

The 502(e) programme also allowed participants to be recruited from outside the population of SCSEP enrollees, and "outsiders" tended to be the recruits as programme operators sought workers who could obtain private sector jobs. Experimental enrollees possessed characteristics more likely to appeal to private sector employers than did the regular SCSEP participants: in particular, they were younger and better educated. They were also somewhat more likely to be female and less likely to be minority. The selection of more promising job candidates is known as "creaming" but the 502(e) evaluators suggest that persons motivated to seek private sector employment were themselves likely to opt for the experimental rather than the regular SCSEP.

Centaur noted that project operators were faced with trying to convince employers that "older workers were a good investment" (ibid.: 20). Age discrimination turned out to be a barrier to placement. Moreover, operators were clearly limited by the fact that no additional funds were allocated for experimental programmes and that grantees were obligated to maintain their regular SCSEP authorised slots. None the less, despite the limitations, the experimental projects did give programme operators greater experience in dealing with the private sector, which might increase their effectiveness in locating private sector opportunities for the less advantaged regular SCSEP enrollees in the future.

The Job Training Partnership Act

The second major older programme is the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), which came into effect in October 1983 as the successor to the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Most training programmes are funded under Title IIA, which "authorises a wide range of training and related activities to participants". Under IIA, 78 per cent of the funds must be spent for training services to disadvantaged youths and adults. In addition, 22 per cent is to be "set aside" or used for special activities, among which are training programmes for older workers (3 per cent of the funds).

JTPA is a training programme for economically disadvantaged persons, although the legislation does allow up to 10 per cent of the participants to fall outside of this category if they face employment barriers. Older workers and displaced home-makers are two

groups singled out as possible victims of employment barriers.

Older workers have traditionally competed with younger workers for federally funded training programmes and have just as traditionally been underserved. This is as true of JTPA programmes as it was of CETA. JTPA's eligibility requirements, however, are far less stringent than CETA's, which required workers to be economically disadvantaged *and* unemployed, underemployed, or in school. Even so, the age distribution of participants in the most comparable programmes of the two Acts (IIB/C of CETA and IIA of JTPA) is almost identical (table 6): participants aged 55 and older have been about 2 to 3 per cent of the participants of the two programmes. At 4 per cent of the total, workers between the ages of 45 and 54 have not fared much better.

The Department of Labor's job Training Quarterly Survey indicates that about 3 per cent of the total IIA enrollees and terminees in Programme Years 1985 and 1986 have been 55 and older. Using the Department of Labor's total enrolment figures, this works out to approximately 20,000 to 21,000 older terminees in each of those years (US Department of Labor, 1987), though this may be somewhat of an underestimate. Sandell and Rupp (1988), in a recent detailed analysis of the IIA enrollees in Programme Years 1984 and 1985, observed that although nearly 4.4 million people aged 55-64 were technically eligible (i.e., economically disadvantaged) for JTPA IIA, only 17,200, or 0.4 per cent of the eligibles, actually participated. Over the first two full programme years of JTPA, workers aged 55 and older were 14 per cent of the eligible JTPA population but only 2.4 per cent of the IIA enrollees.

Participation in JTPA IIA programmes declines dramatically with age, which Sandell and Rupp attribute to declining rates of labour force participation and other factors influencing demand for training. There is a greater tendency for older unemployed workers to leave the labour force and to express an apparent preference for other types of help than long-term training. In a study of CETA participation, Rupp, Bryant, and Montovani (1983: 20) also concluded that the lower demand for participation among older workers was probably due to their lower labour force participation.

Furthermore, while 10 per cent of the population of 55-64 and over have incomes below the poverty level, the unemployment rate for this age group has been less than 5 per cent in recent years. (In fact, unemployment rates tend to drop with age (table 7). Income eligibility for training programme makes sense, if one assumes that very low-income workers whose skills are upgraded will earn more. None the less, people with jobs - even if economically disadvantaged - would be under less pressure than the unemployed to seek out retraining programmes, and programme operators might themselves see greater need among the unemployed. Sandell and Rupp did discover higher JTPA IIA participation rates among unemployed eligibles: 11 per cent of the eligible unemployed older women and 4.6 per cent of the men were enrolled in JTPA programmes during the two years reviewed by Sandell and Rupp.

JTPA IIA participants can receive several different types of training services (classroom training, on-the-job training, work experience, job search assistance), assignment to which tends to be proportional to their distribution in the IIA population (US Department of Labor, 1987 and 1988, selected tables). Older participants seem, however, to be slightly over-represented among the recipients of job search assistance, which may reflect their longer work histories and consequent readiness for work relative to the young disadvantaged who need more preparation to become job-ready. In Program Year 1986, 70 per cent of the 55 and older terminees, as well as 72 per cent of those between the ages of 45 and 54, were reported to have entered unsub-

sidised employment (US Department of Labor, 1987: Table C-29). These figures were well above the national standard set for the JTPA programme year.

JTPA 3 Per Cent Set-Aside or Older Worker Programme

The Federal Government does not require reporting on the characteristics of participants in any of the JTPA set-asides, which makes assessment of who is served rather difficult. (The Department of Labor's Job Training Quarterly Survey includes participants in the 3 per cent programmes administered by IIA operators, but not those in independently administered programmes (Sandell and Rupp, 1988: 49).) To gather information on the set-aside and its participants, the National Governors Association (NGA) conducted a survey of participants in the 3 per cent set-aside programmes of Program Year 1984 (Algeria and Figueroa, 1986). Responses were received from 37 States, which covered some 70 per cent of the set-aside resources for that year.

To qualify for participation in the 3 per cent set-aside programme, an enrollee must be 55 or older and economically disadvantaged. As of 1984, 18,180 older people were being served in the 34 States that reported enrolment figures to the NGA.

Though comparative data are limited, it appears that with respect to sex, minority status, education and public assistance receipt older (55+) JTPA IIA participants are comparable to participants in the 3 per cent set-aside programmes. Services provided to JTPA enrollees, however, apparently vary by programme and by sex. Despite the fact that on-the-job training is often cited as the most successful 3 per cent training programme (Algeria and Lordeman, 1988: 13), (Algeria and Figueroa, 1986: 17, 18) observed that older workers were far more likely to obtain assistance with looking for work than total IIA population, but somewhat less likely to receive classroom or on-the-job training:

Training received	IIA (22+) (%)	IIA (55+) (%)	3 % (55+) (%)
Classroom training	37	31	27
On-the-job training	27	24	21
Job search assistance	23	47	57
Work experience	4	2	8

With regard to the differences among the programmes, the NGA authors point out that "the data reflect comments by State administrators that they have trouble developing (on-the-job training) slots for individuals because of the negative attitudes held by some employers regarding the hiring of older workers" (ibid.: 17).

Two-thirds of both the IIA (69 per cent) and the 3 per cent set-aside (64 per cent) terminees entered unsubsidised employment; however, there was relatively little additional information on programme outcomes. Hourly wages were somewhat higher fot the older IIA terminees than for the 3 per cent ones.

JTPA Title III

Older workers can also be served under Title III of the Job Training Partnership Act if they are displaced workers who lose their jobs because of business closings or employment cutbacks. Between 1981 and 1986, an estimated 10.8 million Americans lost their jobs for such reasons; 5.1 million of them met the Labor Department's criteria for displaced workers and were, until they were re-employed, presumably eligible for assistance under JTPA. However, the US General Accounting Office, (GAO) has estimated that at most, 7 per cent of the eligible workers received assistance under Title III (US General Accounting Office, 1987). According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 20 per cent of dislocated workers were 55 and over in 1984, but only 8 per cent of the Title III enrollees were in that age group. The Labor Department's Job Training Quarterly statistics reveal comparable statistics for 1985 and 1986 (US Department of Labor, 1987: table C-49).

Older worker participation tended to be higher when projects were employer/union operated, but many projects funded under Title III had no older enrollees, according to GAO. Under-represented of such workers is a concern because of the greater problem that they have in finding new employment.

While there are a number of possible explanations for older workers' under-representation, e.g., nervousness about ability to succeed in a training programme, lack of minimum qualifications, or service elsewhere, GAO noted pointedly that over half of the projects studied "reported that, at least to some extent, their selection of participants was influenced by the applicant's potential for placement" (US General Accounting Office, 1987: 43). Project officials told GAO that "based on their experience, employers were reluctant to hire workers over the age of 55 or those with less than a high school education".

Even if older workers had been equitably served under Title II programmes it is by no means certain that they would have received much in the way of training. Relatively few of the 563 Title III projects in operation between October 1982 and March 1985 provided training or support services; training generally was of short duration, and its type dependent on who operated the project (e.g.. classroom training came from educational institutions). Still, placement rates seemed high: 74 per cent of the 45-54 year old terminees in Programme Year 1986 entered employment, as did 67 per cent of those of 55 and over (US Department of Labor, 1987: table C-53). That the Title III programmes were accomplishing some of what they set out to do is suggested by the fact that it seemed to enable workers to move into new lines of work: the majority of workers of all ages surveyed by the GAO had moved into occupations or industries different from their pre-programme ones. Had jobs in their previous fields been abundant, they probably would not have wanted training in the first place.

Private Sector Programmes

There is nothing inherently wrong with publicly-financed training programmes, especially if unsubsidised employment can be assured, but it is unlikely that funds will ever be sufficient to meet the needs of all those eligible to participate. Moreover, many older workers whose skills are outdated or who could otherwise benefit from retraining are either economically disadvantaged or unemployed. Lack of access to training could be considered a serious impediment to improving the United States productivity at a time when the numbers of younger labour force entrants are declining.

Moreover, federally funded job training programmes may become bureaucratic and inflexible and unable to respond quickly or creatively to particular needs. It may be possible for the Government, in combination with the private sector, to develop training programmes for occupations or industries where skills are eminently transferrable (e.g., fast foods). Such programmes may also be suitable for providing the increasingly necessary remedial skills of reading and mathematics. However, companies themselves are perhaps best equipped to identify and respond to their own unique training needs, and some have done so.

Although many of the original NOWIS programmes have been eliminated, several deserve special mention either because of the scope of the programme or because some aspect of it suggests that it might be of interest to other employers.

For example, the *Polaroid Corporation* is well known for its commitment to development of its employees through education and training, especially through its tuition assistance programme. The corporation recognises the value of an ongoing educational and training programme to enhance productivity and adaptability. The programme is accessible to employees of all ages. The company's view is that it should invest in middle-aged and older employees' development and retraining because of the pay-off to the corporation (Knox, 1979).

Over the years, *Crouse-Hinds* (a manufacturer of electrical construction materials) in Syracuse, New York, has offered its workers a variety of training programmes, among which are a two-year college course designed to develop the professional management skills of foremen and training programme to assist workers in adapting to new technology (e.g., computer-assisted design and computer assisted manufacturing). The recent AARP-NOWIS update on Crouse-Hinds notes that "training programmes are designed to develop employees skills to the fullest by preparing employees for continuous change in manufacturing technologies within the Crouse-Hinds. All employees are encouraged and expected to participate in training and education until the day they decide to retire." Courses have been geared to the adult learner, and the majority of participants in training are between 45 and 60. Crouse-Hinds also makes available tuition programmes for retirees, who are encouraged to prepare for part-time or second careers after retirement.

AT&T Bell Laboratories has offered a wide-range of opportunities, including a continuing education programme, to its technical and administrative workers. Graduate and undergraduate courses, taught both by Bell Lab Staff and by a university faculty and using a variety of course formats and teaching techniques, have covered such technical subjects as pure and applied science, engineering, and computer science. Other courses have taught more basic skills, such as effective writing and English as a second language. As of 1985, over 500 courses, some highly specialised and not available elsewhere, were annually offered to both older and younger workers.

One of the best examples of corporate flexibility and ability to solve employment problems through training is a highly touted programme implemented in the 1970s by *General Electric's* Aerospace Electronics Systems Department in Utica, New York, when it switched from analogue to digital techniques in electronics. General Electric concluded that it would be less expensive to retrain their educated but outdated engineers in the new technology than it would be to hire new employees (Rosen and Jerdee, 1985: 129). The company proceeded to do just that. While it isn't known how many workers would have been terminated or retired without the retraining, which was discontinued once the shift to digital had been successfully completed.

As of 1982, about one-half of the older engineers who had participated in General Electric's "Technical Renewal Programme" had gone on voluntarily to take additional courses provided by the company. This renewal programme has been succeeded by a continuing "Engineering Education Programme". The company is concerned with projections showing that within the decade large percentages of the engineering staff would be eligible for "normal" retirement at the age of 62 (US Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1985: 29), which underscores the urgency to retain, by skill updating, older workers before and even after that age.

The General Electric example highlights the above-mentioned fact that the private sector will retrain its workers when it is in their best interest to do so. Public programmes, in contrast, focus on the individual's need to work. The two goals are not necessarily incompatible, but they may work against one another, as in the case of downsizing companies.

The fast food industry - traditionally heavily dependent on young, cheap labour - is one industry that has specifically eyed the growing pool of older persons as a potential resource. Both *McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken*, two large fast food franchises, have recently undertaken widely publicised efforts to attract older workers. Kentucky Fried Chicken, which in 1987 pledged to provide more than 1,500 jobs for older workers in its more than 1,200 company-owned restaurants, advertises part-time work - long known to be of interest to older workers - with competetive salaries and fringe benefits, including medical and life insurance, paid vacations, and holidays. Older workers are trained to handle both food and customer service.

McMasters, as the McDonald's older workers programme is known, was begun in Baltimore, Maryland, in partnership with the State's Office on Aging. As such, it is not solely a private sector venture. In its press materials, McDonald's calls McMasters "an employment programme designed to provide skilled training and job placement for individuals of 55 years and older." Training of approximately 15 to 20 hours per week in various aspects of the business lasts about four weeks. McDonald's is now operating the programme in several States in partnership with a contracting organisation; both McDonald's and the contracting organisation contribute financially to the training. (The first project was specially funded under the JTPA.) McDonald's has also hired the National Association of State Units on Aging to develop a seminar on how to recruit, supervise and train older workers, as well as on how to deal with the age-related hearing, vision, and other problems.

Coupled with the projected decline in the number of young workers, the projected growth in the fast food industry should foster continued interest in older food service workers. The jobs in question are, however, physically demanding (fast-paced, requiring long periods on one's feet), involve the stress of dealing with the public, tend generally to be low pay, and are perceived as relatively low status. Just how much the positive attributes, such as flexible hours, compensate for the

negative ones will determine whether the older worker/fast food partnership thrives over the long run.

Prompted by potential job losses due to foreign competition, an employer, *International Silver*, and the Steelworkers' Union implemented a programme under the provisions of the Trade Adjustment Act of 1974 that established retraining projects for transition to the production of new products for which there was a market (Jacobson, 1980). In this case, the average age of employees was 56. A special feature of the project was the use of company retirees as part of the instruction staff.

Based in Minneapolis, Minnesota, *Control Data Corporation* (computer production and service), one of America's top 200 corporations, offers a varied programme of training and retraining to all employees of 55 and older. Courses are influenced by the perspective of potential career change in the technology of the company's industry. Much of the emphasis is based on the belief that many persons contemplating early retirement are actually in search of a career change. In addition to a "mid-career course correction programme" for workers between the ages of 30 and 55, Control Data offers a variety of alternative work options that might be of particular interest to older workers.

In Bethpage, New York, *Grumman Aerospace Corporation* has a relatively "old" workforce (in 1982, 55 per cent of its employees were 45 and older), and, at the same time, a need for a continuing diversified career development programme. Grumman has offered a variety of training programmes, many of which - like their mid-career training programmes - are particularly attractive to ageing workers. The company has been well known for its long record of older worker retention and hiring, especially after a personnel policy during a retrenchment period in the 1970s resulted in a marked increase in the age of the company's workforce. Supervisors had been called upon to decide which employees should be retained; retention of the more valued employees meant greater selection of the more experienced, older employees.

Pitney Bowes of Stamford, Connecticut, (manufacturer and servicer of business equipment) provides general educational assistance to all employees, regardless of age, including training especially for new technology, in keeping with the company's shift from mechanical to electronic production.

Less innovative perhaps, but significant in view of the older women in particular who are employed (table 8, see also table 9 for additional occupational information), are the programmes to update workers on new office technologies provided by the *Travellers* to its retirees and the *Kelly Services* (temporary work). Kelly, which recruits older workers who find flexible work schedules to their liking, helps new workers improve rusty skills and learn new software programmes. *Manpower, Inc.*, another temporary hiring service, has also developed a system for training new workers, particularly in word processing. The copyrighted training software, which allows workers to learn at their own pace, is seen as especially appropriate for the many re-entry workers who are uncomfortable with the new office technology. A fast and reasonably inexpensive system, it has been used to train more than 85,000 temporary workers (Nye, 1988: 18-19).

Texas Refinery Corporation explicitly hires and trains retirees as part-time salespersons for its products throughout the United States and overseas (Canada, Mexico, and Luxembourg). As of 1982, the company had about 500 employees in their 60s, 70s and 80s. All new salespeople undergo intensive training.

(For descriptions of other, typically small-scale, projects providing training to older persons, see US Congress, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1985; the Bureau of National Affairs, 1987; and the National Caucus and Center on Black Aged, 1987).

Not-For-Profit Efforts

An excellent prototype of the role of the private not-for-profit sector in the field of older worker employment and training is the Chicago-based Project ABLE (Ability Based on Living Experiences). This programme has stimulated similar efforts in other parts of the United States. The year 1986 data from the Chicago agency demonstrate that, contrary to conventional thought, there is a very wide range of occupations for which older workers (55 and above) are actually hired, even on a full-time basis, for example: adminsitrative assistant, dental assistant, librarian, purchasing agent, rental agent, sales clerk, secretary, and sales agent. Among the part-time jobs are bakers, cashiers, data-entry clerks, laboratory workers, receptionist/typists, and tutors.

In less than 10 years, Chicago's Operation ABLE has placed more than 30,000 older men and women in essentially private-sector jobs. The ABLE experience is an illustration of the significant and necessary role that can be performed by "intermediary" mechanisms matching older job-seekers with employers. To repeat, these workers were hired after the age of 55. The success of such projects, of course, assumes a capacity and willingness on the part of the employers to disregard chronological age as a criterion of employment eligibility. But much of that employer capacity and willingness is the product of the intermediary, the non-profit agency's "marketing" of older persons' job skills and qualifications. Labour shortages and employer needs may be necessary but perhaps not sufficient conditions for success in training and hiring of older persons.

In most of the numerous community-based older worker employment projects, only a minimal emphasis is placed on training and retraining, with one major exception being the case of "displaced homemakers", older women who either lack labour-marketable skills or who need updating or training in new skills because of long absences from the paid labour force.

Of the few new abstracts from the NOWIS database, one deserves special mention because it is aimed at some of the millions of displaced homemakers in the United States. (Estimates as to numbers vary from about 2 million to over 11 million, although many in this later estimate are elderly and not in the market for employment.) Maryland New Directions, Inc. helps displaced women build marketable skills through participation in workshops oriented toward skill building and job hunting. After the workshops, these women may move into an internship, direct job search, graduate equivalent programme, or classroom training. Training during a four-month internship is designed to get the participants a job with that or a similar establishment. Approximately 30 women are served each month.

Other non-profit endeavours are involved more directly in advising, providing technical assistance to, or disseminating information to agencies, organisations, and corporations interested in utilising older workers. One of the largest of these is the Worker Equity Initiative of the 24 million plus member American Association of Retired Persons. Not only is the Worker Equity Department overseeing the updating and expansion of NOWIS, but it is developing programmes to (i) increase older workers' public and private sector employment; (ii) ensure their equal access to employment and training opportunities, and (iii) provide services to older workers "in transition", among whom can be found the older unemployed, career changers, and late-life first-time labour force entrants. The Department publishes a bimonthly newsletter, *Working Age*, on older worker employment issues available without charge

to businesses and organisations interested in those issues. (A recent edition dealt with women in the workforce.) According to its director, the Department is developing resources for training directors who are seeking useful information on recruiting and training older workers (Gamse, May 1988).

Since JTPA's enactment, the National Association of State Units on Ageing (NASUA) has, through publications and annual conferences on older workers, disseminated practical information on ways to implement JTPA programmes successfully. This includes the recruitment, training, and placement of older workers. *Making JTPA Work for Older Persons* is a 1987 publication of "practical how-tos" that, indeed, includes very specific information on recruiting and training older workers (Gamse, May 1988).

The National Caucus and Center on Black Aged, a national SCSEP sponsoring organisation, has attempted to ascertain what makes older worker placement programmes succeed. Findings, along with recommendations on how to design and manage older worker placement systems, were summarised in a widely disseminated second volume on *Job Placement Systems for Older Workers*.

In addition to serving as an SCSEP national organisation, the National Council on the Aging is involved in efforts to promote older worker employment through the coordination of federally-funded training programmes. NCOA's Prime Time Productivity hopes to serve as a catalyst for bringing together individuals involved in employment and training programmes to develop a comprehensive set of employment and training programmes for older people. Prime Time Productivity will also assists employers in the recruitment, training, and other efforts on behalf of older workers. Publications include *The Aging Workforce*, a new quarterly newsletter on management programmes and strategies for dealing with older workers, and *Corporate Newsline*, a bulletin, provides specific tips on hiring, training, and retraining older workers. (Training was the focus of the two-page February 1988 bulletin)

The Representation of Women in Older Worker Training Programmes

For many reasons, not the least of which is their predominance among the elderly poor, older women's interest and actual participation in training programmes are matters of concern. A small and limited study by Tucker (1985) of well-trained, well-educated employees in jobs vulnerable to obsolescence (geologist, physical scientist, cartographers, and hydrologists) found no differences in the training needs expressed by the older women and men, but that says nothing about their actual enrolment in training programmes.

On the surface, women would seem to be proportionately represented - or over-represented in public training programmes. (Data on private training programmes are lacking.) As mentioned above, women are over 60 per cent of the SCSEP perticipants and have been over half of the JTPA enrollees in recent years. Algeria and Figueroa (1986) reported that women were 58 per cent of the 3 per cent set-aside terminees who found jobs. They were also apparently well-represented in the CETA programmes, for instance, of the 55 and older new enrollees in CETA IIB and C programmes in FY 81, nearly six out of ten were women.

Women are 56 per cent of the 55 and older population and 68 per cent of the impoverished population of 55 and above. Using income alone, women are proportionately represented in SCSEP but under-represented in JTPA programmes. The fact that older women are less likely than older men to be unemployed - they were only 38 per cent of the 55+ unemployed population in 1987 - undoubtedly explains some of their "under-representation" in JTPA. Data on job dislocation rates suggests that women are being proportionately served in JTPA Title III programmes.

According to Centaur (1986: 29), the ideal candidate for experimental SCSEP 502(e) programme was often seen by programme operators as a recently widowed or divorced women aged 55 to 60 who was too young for social security. Such women were favourably disposed toward full-time private sector work and welcomed assistance from the experimental programmes.

The fact that women do not appear to be discriminated against in public training programmes says nothing about the adequacy of service. Displaced homemakers, in particular, who have not been targeted for special assistance under JTPA as they were under CETA, are probably particularly ill served. The 1984 Carl Perkins Vocational Education Act did authorise "spending up to $84 million annually for services to single parents and homemakers, including displaced homemakers"; (US Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, 1986: 48), and the number of programmes serving them has increased from 400 to over 1,000. However, the sums involved are "still small" compared to the need (ibid.), and apparently, relatively few displaced homemakers benefit from them.

Moreover, the fact remains that only a very small proportion of the eligible of *either* sex are able to participate in public training programmes. Considerably fewer than 150,000 persons of 55 and older would seem to work their way through all SCSEP and JTPA programmes combined in any one programme year, and fewer obtain private sector employment as a result.

Value of Training

The effectiveness of training and retraining programmes for older workers remains to be evaluated. For the General Electric workers who managed to keep their jobs as a result of corporate training, it obviously paid off. Through warning against making too much of their findings, given methodological problems, Rupp, Bryant and Montovani (1983: 20) concluded that older worker participation in CETA appeared to have paid off by increasing the probability of being employed 15 months after leaving the programmes by 8.7 per cent. An estimated annual earnings gain of $400 immediately after programmes termination was due largely to the effect of finding a job.

In Datta's opinion (1987), dislocated worker programmes are only minimally effective, in part because of problems with relocating workers and in part because new jobs tend to be entry level ones, but the GAO study and the Labor Department's placement statistics indicate that such programme can have a positive impact. The problem, of course, in drawing definitive conclusions is the lack of adequate control groups for comparison. More systematic study of the effectiveness of various types of older worker training programmes, though costly, might be warranted.

A work in America policy study (1980) raises issues such as "why should an employee of 50, who may work up to age 70, be barred from further training on the grounds of age alone?" and makes several recommendations concerning their training and development, among which are the following:

- since developmental programmes will have to stretch over a greater life span, concepts of training and development will have to become more elastic;

- employers, when hiring for a new workforce, should first seek to train current employees, regardless of age, who wish to shift skills, careers, or assignments;

- training opportunities should be advertised in order to attract workers of all ages;

- the notion that people who have specialised for many years in one field lack aptitude or ability to move into another must be discarded;

- the "linear" life pattern of growing and learning, working, and then retiring needs to be relaxed;

- recognition must be given to the possibility that older workers have different learning patterns from younger ones;

- training, even of older workers, is an investment in the career employee.

Future Training Needs

Age does result in job decrements and adolescence in many occupations (Root and Zarrugh, 1983). For instance, in a study of white male professionals and managers aged 50 and 65, Andrisani and Daymont (1987) ascertained that the wages of the older workers were higher largely because of their longer job tenure. Had tenure and other factors not kept wages rising, wages would have declined by 18 per cent, due to obsolescence as measured by years since schooling was completed. This findings begs the question of what type of retraining, skills updating, or education will keep older workers competitive and attractive to employers. In large part, the answer depends on projected occupational growth and the need for workers.

Between 1979 and 1986 the population of young adults - persons aged 16 to 24, who form the pool of entry level job aspirants - dropped by nearly 3million, while a further 2.6 million decline is projected by the year 2000 (Fullerton, 1987: 23). Accompanying this demographic development has been a tremendous increase in job creation in the United States - some 26 million jobs were created between 1974 and 1984 alone (Schweke and Jones, 1986: 18); by the turn of the century, the number of jobs may be over 20 million greater, if the most recent Bureau of Labor Statistics projections (Silvestri and Lukasiewicz, 1987) are at all close to the mark. Job growth seems assured. But will it include jobs for older workers?

On the other hand, the greatest *rate* of job growth will be in fields where further technological advances requiring repeated skill updating can be expected. Most of the jobs listed in table 10 would seem to fall into this category. Those jobs, however, will account for less than 7 per cent of the projected numerical increase in occupations between now and the turn of the century.

According to projections of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (ibid.), nearly 44 per cent of the new jobs by the year 2000 will be in 20 occupations, the majority of which would not be classified as highly technical or highly skilled; retail sales, waiters and waitresses, cashiers, truck drivers, food service workers (table 11).

This is not to suggest a growing demand for *unskilled* workers because even the occupations in table 11 will require oral and written skills and most likely familiarity with rapidly changing computer technology (e.g., computerised cash registers). Who will get the good jobs will undoubtedly depend on recency of training for those desirable jobs for which there might be keen competition. All of these and other considerations discussed above call for a greater commitment to skill-updating on a continuing basis for men and women of all ages. This will also entail greater awareness and increased commitment by employers, government, labour, and individual workers themselves.

Summary

The *demographic figures* of the US show a slight increase of the percentage of people aged 55 and over up to 24.5 per cent in the year 2010. Beyond this year the increase will be sharper up to 29 per cent in the year 2025. Nevertheless, this is far less than in some European countries (Federal Republic of Germany: 40 per cent). The activity rate of this age group constituted 17 per cent in 1972, is 13 per cent in 1988 and is expected to be 11 per cent in the year 2000.

Due to the problems resulting from declining figures of young people entering the labour force and as part of the effort to restore long-range financial solvency to the social security system, Congress in 1983 approved a gradual increase in the age of eligibility for full social security benefits. Full retirement age will reach 67 beyond the year 2017. But, this effort will only have a significant impact if employers adjust their private pension inducements.

Federal efforts aside, programmes and policies - most specifically those involving training - to foster delayed retirement and increase the productivity of older workers, while they exist, are apparently not prevalent. But in point of fact, good estimates of just how many employers offer training to their older workers or how many older workers actually participate in any programmes, are unavailable. However, it is still significant that only three of 36 programmes described in a not systematic survey of 1987 were private programmes. But, as a result of other studies many so-called "invisible" programmes undoubtedly remain invisible.

Another survey shows that, among workers of 55-64 years of age, 48 per cent were somewhat or very interested in learning new skills and participating in a job-training programme, so they could take on a different job. Seventeen per cent of the respondents to a survey between the ages of 50 and 62 said they were "much more likely" to delay early retirement if they could have job training.

Publicly-financed training programmes for older workers (funded under the Older Americans Act or under the Job Training Partnership Act, JTPA) are available country wide, very well developed and evaluated, are successful and may be of great interest to other countries. Concluding from these programmes it can be stated that the Federal government in co-operation with the States and local authorities conducts an explicitly positive policy toward the training needs of older workers. Of course, it is unlikely that funds will ever be sufficient to meet the needs of all those eligible to participate.

The private sector itself is perhaps best equipped to identify and respond to his own unique training needs, but only if some companies have done so, if not much is invisible, e.g. General Electric concluded that it would be less expensive to retrain their educated but outdated engineers in the new technologies than it would be to hire new employees. Some other companies as Polaroid Corporation, Crouse Hinds, AT&T Bell Laboratories, McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Contol Data Corporation, and Grummon Aerospace Corporation have recognised the value of an ongoing educational and training programme for older workers.

Among the *not-for-profit efforts*, there is the very successful Chicago-based project ABLE (Ability Based on Living Experiences), which provides by "intermediary" mechanisms matching older job-seekers with employers training and employment for older workers *after* the age of 55. Much of that employer capacity and willingness is the product of the intermediary, the non-profit agency's "marketing" of older persons' job skills and qualifications.

In most of the community-based older worker employment projects less emphasis is placed on training and retraining. But, as far as training is needed it will be provided. Those job placement systems for older workers in the US are very well developed and published in very readable manuals and can serve as models for other countries.

Older women would seem to be proportionately represented or over-represented in public training and retraining programmes. This is probably due to the fact that older women are less likely than older men to be unemployed.

Of course, there are widely spread education possibilities for older people in the field of *preparation for retirement* and for *enhancing* their *leisure time* promoted by various organisations in the US, but the report does not put emphasis on these topics.

Tables

Table 1: Civilian labour force participants by age and sex: Actual, 1979 and 1987, and projected, 2000
(moderate growth assumptions; numbers in thousands)

	1979	1987	2000
Total, both sexes	104 960	119 865	138 775
Men, 16 and over	60 727	66 207	73 136
16 to 19	5 111	4 112	4 501
20 to 24	8 534	7 837	7 005
25 to 34	16 386	19 656	16 559
35 to 44	11 532	15 587	20 133
45 to 54	10 008	10 176	16 332
55 to 64	7 213	6 940	7 238
65 and over	1 943	1 899	1 368
Women, 16 and over	44 233	53 658	65 639
16 to 19	4 527	3 875	4 379
20 to 24	7 233	7 140	6 746
25 to 34	11 550	15 577	15 098
34 to 44	8 153	12 873	18 438
45 to 54	6 891	8 034	14 220
55 to 64	4 718	4 937	5 732
65 and over	1 161	1 221	1 026

Sources: Howard N Fullerton, Jr.: "Labor force projections: 1986 to 2000", in Monthly Labor Review, Sep. 1987, p. 25.

US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: employment and earnings (Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office, Jan. 1988), table 3.

Table 2: Civilian labour force participation rates of men and women, 55 and older, 1948-1987

	Men		Women	
Year	55-64	65+	55-64	65+
1948	89.5	46.8	24.3	9.1
1950	86.9	45.8	27.0	9.7
1955	87.9	39.6	32.5	10.6
1960	86.8	33.1	37.2	10.8
1965	84.6	27.9	41.1	10.0
1970	83.0	26.8	43.0	9.7
1975	75.6	21.6	40.9	8.2
1980	72.1	19.0	41.3	8.1
1985	67.9	15.8	42.0	7.3
1987	67.6	16.3	42.7	7.4

Source: US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Handbook of Labor Statistics (Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office, 1985), and Employment and Earnings (Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office), Jan. 1986, table 3, and Jan. 1988, table 3

Table 3: Civilian labour force participation rates of men and women aged 55 and over, actual 1987 and projected, 1990, 1995, and 2000 (moderate growth projections)

Age	Men				Women			
	1987	1990	1995	2000	1987	1990	1995	2000
55 and over	40.4	36.8	34.3	34.1	22.0	21.0	20.4	21.4
55-64	67.6	65.1	64.0	63.2	42.7	42.8	44.3	45.8
55-59	79.7	77.8	76.6	75.2	52.2	52.4	53.9	55.3
60-64	54.9	52.8	49.8	47.9	33.2	33.5	33.7	33.9
60 and 61	67.6	65.5	63.2	60.9	41.0	40.3	40.5	40.6
62 to 64	46.0	43.0	40.4	38.2	27.8	28.8	28.9	29.0
65 and over	16.3	14.1	11.9	9.9	7.4	7.0	6.2	5.4
65-69	25.8	22.5	20.1	17.9	14.3	13.4	12.5	11.4
70 and over	10.5	9.2	7.7	6.3	4.1	4.0	3.7	3.2

Source: US Bureau of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings. Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office, Jan. 1988, and unpublished data.

Table 4: Courses taken by older men and women in adult education, by main reason, year ending, May 1984

Reason	Courses taken by			
	Men		Women	
	55-64 (%)	65+ (%)	55-64 (%)	65+ (%)
Job-related	68.4	30.5	47.9	16.8
To get new job	4.2	3.6	3.3	1.1
in current occupation	1.4	1.0	1.3	0.1
in new occupation	2.8	2.7	1.9	1.0
To advance in job	60.0	25.4	40.5	15.2
Other	4.1	1.2	4.2	0.6
Not job-related	31.6	69.5	51.2	83.2
Not reported	-	-	0.9	-
Total courses taken (in thousands)	1 328	413	1 796	822

Source: US Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics: Digest of Education Statistics 1987 (Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office, May 1987), table 220.

Table 5: Participants in post-secondary education by age, October 1982.

Age	Type of education			Age distribution of population, 1982 (%)
	Academic (%)	Vocational (%)	Continuing (%)	
16-24	67.2	48.4	16.4	22.5*
25-34	23.2	28.5	32.2	22.1
35-44	6.8	13.8	21.7	16.1
45-54	2.1	6.3	13.8	12.5
55-64	0.6	2.5	9.9	12.3
65+	0.1	0.5	6.0	14.5
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number (in thousands)		9 243	3 787	5 177 178 101

*Persons 15 to 24.

Source: US Department of Education: Digest of Education Statistics, 1987 (Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office, May 1987), table 217; US Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports Series P-60, No.1425, Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States: 1982 (Washington, DC, US Government Printing Office, Feb. 1984), table 46.

Table 6: Age distribution of participants under CETA Titles IIB/C, Fiscal Year 1982, and under JTPA Title IIA, Programme Years 1984-85 and 1986*

Age	CETA Titles II B/C (FY 1982) (%)	JTPA Title IIA (PY 1984-85) (%)	JTPA Title IIA (PY 1986) (%)
14-15	3.1	-	-
16-21	37.7	40.4	42.0
22-44	52.5	52.9	51.0
45-54	4.4	4.3	4.0
55+	2.3	2.4	3.0
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	834 515	717 600	786 100

*CETA programmes were funded on a fiscal year, while JTPA programmes operate on a programme year, which runs from 1 July to 30 June.

Source: US Department of Labor: 1983 Employment and Training Report of the Secretary (Washington, DC, US Department of Labor; mimeo.), table 4; Steven H. Sandell and Kalman Rupp: Who is served in JTPA Programs: Patterns of participation and intergroup equity (Washington, DC, National Commission for Employment Policy, Feb.1988), table 9; US Department of Labor: Summary of JTPS Data for JPTA Title IIA and III Enrollments and Terminations During PY 1986 (Washington, DC, US Deparment of Labor, Division of Performance Management and Evaluation, Office of Strategic Planning and Policy Development, Dec. 1987), table C-1.

Table 7: Unemployment rates by sex, occupation, and age, 1986

	All Ages,				
	16+	45-54	55-59	60-64	65+
Men					
Executive, admini., managerial	2.2	2.5	2.1	1.9	2.0
Professional specialty	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.5	3.3
Technicians & related	3.8	2.5	2.3	3.1	2.1
Sales	3.4	2.5	2.3	2.3	1.6
Administrative support, including clerical	4.7	2.7	2.3	3.8	3.1
Service	8.4	5.3	4.9	3.5	5.6
Precision, production, craft, repair	7.0	5.4	6.4	6.9	4.2
Operatives, fabricators, labourers	10.5	8.0	9.1	5.9	6.2
Farm operators & managers	0.6	0.6	0.2	-	0.2
Farmworkers, & related	11.4	8.7	9.0	5.2	2.6
Total rate, all occupations	6.9	4.4	4.6	3.9	3.2
Women					
Executive, admin., managerial	3.3	2.9	2.4	3.4	2.4
Professional speciality	2.3	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8
Technicians & related	3.1	2.8	3.0	4.4	1.9
Sales	6.9	5.0	3.2	3.0	2.2
Administrative support, including clerical	4.7	3.6	2.9	3.4	1.8
Service	8.8	5.5	4.5	4.7	2.4
Precision, production, craft, repair	9.2	7.0	4.4	5.4	3.8
Operatives, fabricators, labourers	11.8	8.3	8.2	5.8	10.3
Farm operators & managers	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.6	0
Farmworkers & related	13.5	9.1	4.1	3.4	5.6
Total rate, all occupations	7.1	4.5	3.8	3.8	2.8

Source: US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 8: Employed persons by sex, occupation, and age, 1987 annual averages
(in percentages)

	All Ages,				
	16+	45-54	55-59	60-64	65+
Men					
Total number (000s)	62 107	9 750	4 027	2 655	1 850
Executive, admin., managerial	13.3	17.8	17.1	17.5	14.6
Professional specialty	11.6	13.4	12.5	12.6	12.8
Technicians and related	2.8	2.4	1.9	1.5	0.8
Sales	11.3	11.3	11.5	12.4	15.9
Administrative support, including clerical	5.9	4.9	5.8	4.8	5.7
Service	9.5	6.9	7.6	9.7	12.0
Precision, production, craft, repair	20.0	21.1	20.2	17.3	11.4
Operatives, fabricators, labourers	20.9	18.2	18.4	16.4	11.3
Farm operators and managers	1.8	2.1	2.9	5.0	10.3
Farmworkers, forestry, fishing	2.9	1.9	2.0	2.6	5.1
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number (000s)	62 107	9 750	4 027	2 655	1 850
Women					
Executive, admin., managerial	10.0	11.3	10.2	9.1	8.2
Professional specialty	14.4	15.5	12.6	10.4	10.2
Technicians and related	3.2	2.5	1.7	1.6	1.1
Sales	12.8	10.5	11.7	14.1	14.9
Administrative support, including clerical	29.0	29.5	29.2	30.4	24.1
Service	18.1	16.4	19.3	20.0	29.1
Precision, production, craft, repair	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.7
Operatives, fabricators, labourers	9.0	10.4	10.9	10.2	6.8
Farm operators and managers	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.9
Farmworkers, forestry, fishing	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.9
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number (000s)	50 334	7 737	2 922	1 861	1 191

Source: US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished data.

Table 9: Age distribution of employed workers by sex and occupation, 1986
(in percentages)

	Age					
	5	35-54	55-59	60-64	65+	Total
Men						
Executive, admin., managerial	34.4	49.5	7.8	5.1	3.2	100.0
Professional specialty	37.6	47.5	7.2	4.6	3.1	100.0
Technical, sales, and administrative support	47.9	38.0	6.5	4.4	3.2	100.0
Sales	44.6	39.5	6.9	5.0	4.0	100.0
Administrative support, including clerical	51.1	35.6	6.4	4.1	2.8	100.0
Service	57.0	29.0	5.6	4.2	3.6	100.0
Precision, production, craft, repair	47.7	40.3	6.5	3.8	1.6	100.0
Operatives, fabricators, labourers	55.9	33.5	5.6	3.5	1.5	100.0
Farm operators and managers	24.7	36.3	11.0	10.8	17.1	100.0
Farmworkers and related	62.2	23.9	4.4	4.3	5.3	100.0
Women						
Executive, admin., managerial	43.0	46.3	5.6	3.3	1.8	100.0
Professional specialty	42.9	47.3	5.3	2.9	1.7	100.0
Technical, sales, and administrative support	51.8	36.6	5.7	3.7	2.2	100.0
Sales	56.7	31.2	5.5	3.7	2.9	100.0
Administrative support, including clerical	49.0	39.0	6.0	3.9	2.0	100.0
Service	52.2	33.6	6.1	4.4	3.6	100.0
Precision, production, craft, repair	43.3	42.7	7.3	4.2	2.5	100.0
Operatives, fabricators, labourers	45.0	41.6	7.2	4.4	1.8	100.0
Farm operators and managers	20.9	48.1	12.8	8.0	10.2	100.0
Farmworkers and related	50.6	34.8	6.6	3.7	4.3	100.0

Source: US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 10: Fastest-growing occupations, 1986-2000
(moderate alternative; numbers in thousands)

Occupation	Employment		Change in employment, 1986-2000	
	986	Projected, 2000	Number	Per cent
Para-legal personnel	61	125	64	103.7
Medical assistant	132	251	119	90.4
Physical therapists	61	115	53	87.5
Physical and corrective therapy assistants and aides	36	65	29	81.6
Data processing equipment repairers	69	125	56	80.4
Home health aides	138	249	111	80.1
Pediatrists	13	23	10	77.2
Computer systems analysts, electronic data processing	331	582	251	75.6
Medical records technicians	40	70	30	75.0
Employment interviewers, private or public employment service	75	129	54	71.2
Computer programmers	479	813	335	69.9
Radiologic technologists and technicians	115	190	75	64.7
Dental hygienists	87	141	54	62.6
Dental assistants	155	244	88	57.0
Physician assistants	26	41	15	56.7
Operations and systems researchers	38	59	21	54.1
Occupational therapists	29	45	15	52.2
Peripheral electronic data processing equipment operators	46	70	24	50.8
Data entry keyers, composing	29	43	15	50.8
Optometrists	37	55	18	49.2

Source: George T. Silvestri and John M. Lukasiewicz: "A look at occupational trends to the year 2000", in Monthly Labor Review, Sep. 1986, p. 58.

Table 11: Occupations with the largest job growth, 1986-2000
(moderate alternative; numbers in thousands)

Occupation	Employment		Change in employment, 1986-2000	
	1986	Projected, 2000	Number	Per cent
Salespersons, retail	3 579	4 780	1 201	33.5
Waiters and waitresses	1 702	2 454	752	44.2
Registered nurses	1 406	2 018	612	43.6
Janitors and cleaners	2 676	3 280	604	22.6
General managers and top executives	2 383	2 965	582	24.4
Cashiers	2 165	2 740	575	26.5
Truck drivers	2 211	2 736	525	23.8
General office clerks	2 361	2 824	462	19.6
Food counter, fountain, and related workers	1 500	1 949	449	29.9
Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	1 224	1 658	433	35.4
Secretaries	3 234	3 658	424	13.1
Guards	794	1 177	383	48.3
Accountants and auditors	945	1 322	376	39.8
Computer programmers	479	813	335	69.9
Food preparation workers	949	1 273	324	34.2
Teachers, kindergarten and elementary	1 527	1 826	299	19.6
Receptionists and information clerks	682	964	282	41.4
Computer systems analysts, electronic data processing	331	582	251	75.6
Cooks, restaurant	520	759	240	46.2
Licensed practical nurses	631	869	238	37.7

Source: George T. Silvestri and John M. Lukasiewicz: "A look at occupational trends to the year 2000", in Monthly Labor Review, Sep. 1987, p. 59.

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